Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
waica

/46 cont./

352
284

Fig. 18a-b
Detail of the end fastening on a hammock of embira, as well as loop and knot diagram.

352 roving, hunting, and war expeditions as a travel hammock.
[482] Rolled up, it then hangs on their backs, held by a thin neck-cord
of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber). For sleeping they usually
● [513] lie curled up in it; it takes practice and skill, however, not to
fall out.

352 Similar hammocks are also used by the Waikâ, and there,
184 according to Zerries, they are supposed to fulfill certain functions
[114] in the ritual system (246) (247), whereas Schuster says that they

246. Zerries, 1955a, p. 87.

247. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

are made only in an emergency (248). The tree-bast hammocks

248. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

of the Xiriâna are more highly developed, for they have a weft of cotton threads and plant fibers. Ruth Haebler describes two specimens in the ethnological museums in Berlin (VA 61119) and Leipzig (8736) (249).

249. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Yara-Yara. These strips are a few centimetres wide, their ends being twisted into a rope and tied to two trees. Less common is the hammock made from the rootstock of an iriartea, the palm which tends to cling slyly to the traveller with its thorns, lurking on the young shoots. The rootstock often lies above ground, twice the length of a man's arm and almost as thick. It is carefully stripped of its spines, which come off easily, and then clubbed to a pulp. In this way the very strong fibres are easily removed. They spread open very readily, and the Samatari are careful not to pulp the ends, leaving seven or eight inches of the rootstock intact so that it can be hung on to any convenient spur on a tree.

Finally there is the hammock de luxe, the one the snobs carry with them because it takes a certain amount of time to make and its more select raw material cannot be found everywhere. This is a superlatively strong liana known in Spanish as *alambrito*, or wire, because of its strength and its habit of growth. Quite apart from its use for hammocks among the Shirians, this liana is one of the main forest products, being used for all sorts of purposes by all the inhabitants, from the most civilized to the most primitive. It serves for binding the walls of huts, for weaving and basketwork and, as we have said, for hammocks of a superior quality.

This liana is about as thick as a pencil and easy to peel and slip open into a number of pliable white strands rounded on one side and flat on the other. About a hundred of these strands, banded together halfway between the two ends with twisted bark rope, make the hammock. It is strong and springy, but alas, like all Shirian hammocks, unstable, uncomfortable, and very small. Stretched out in them, with the imprint cutting deeply into their skin, the Samatari pass their nights without stirring, their feet on a higher level than their heads as if they were following the most modern therapeutic principles, smoking themselves in the piquant fumes of their fire, which is kept continually burning and replenished by the more youthful members of the tribe. The fire is their blanket—'the blanket of the night'—as they themselves call it.

▼

At some point during the night, Solitrax turned up wearing my trousers. After they had made their mysterious rounds, it seemed, they had fallen to

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

open space ran a belt of rattan palms with their notoriously dangerous black spines. There were just two openings: a way in, and a way out. This was a defence work against any enemy that might come along. An aggressor had little chance of bringing off a surprise attack against the Samatari over this open ground, and if he made a frontal attack he would find 'bread for his teeth'—that is, thorns for his feet.

At night, while the Indians were all chattering heedlessly in their hammocks or sleeping the light sleep of the savage, the two gaps in the cordon were closed and the camp became a fortress difficult to storm. If they stay for several days in one place, as sometimes happens during the rainy season when they are visiting their plantations of tobacco and cane (for arrows), they will put up a palisade round the camp, on the Guayca model. This is composed of the trunks of a very tough palm, driven into the ground as close together as possible. Thus entrenched they can withstand whole days of attack from a position of strength.

In the course of our march, one Samatari not only devoured the larvae of bees, neatly excavating them from their cells in the smoked honeycomb, but every now and then he would stop at a dead tree-trunk, seamed with ant-galleries or lanes, and run his thumb and forefinger along the groove as far as possible, pressing out the damp earthy substance, which he conveyed to his mouth like some rare *bonne bouche*. Smacking his lips, he carried on until he had demolished the whole network of these arboreal thoroughfares, and the ants fled away over the surface of the tree-trunk, lamenting the cataclysm that had overtaken them.

Even we tried this ant-hill diet, but a mixture of earth and sawdust hardly appeased our hunger. Sometimes, as we crossed a stream, a few of the Samatari bent down rapidly and picked out of the water some little white stones that were soft like lumps of lime. These they chewed as they went along, apparently swallowing them. They will also eat sand, the dirty, soft, vari-coloured sand which is found with the detritus of vegetable matter thrown up on the banks of a river after a flood. For on top of all this varied diet of theirs, the Samatari are also geophagists—earth-eaters. The reason for this is probably an instinctive prompting which leads them to acquire in this way the minerals their normal food—which they eat without salt or spices—does not supply.

Our great salvation was the fruit: meat being very precious to the savages, they were unwilling to give us any, and we had no means of hunting for ourselves. The gun had simply disappeared. For the Samatari too, fruit is the main

/468 cont./

Traveling and Transportation

487 They make almost all their trips on foot by paths and trails. Bridges are built over the largest rivers. Other rivers are waded or crossed on tree trunks.

/469/ New paths are marked by breaking branches in passing. On old roads they indicate the path or paths which have not been taken, leaving some object or a little pile of leaves at the entrance of same. A stick may be tied to an abandoned dwelling to indicate in what direction the former occupant has moved.
621 (A settlement may split up into groups when it abandons the
166 site in the area of the "conuco," and therefore this sign does not necessarily mean that the entire settlement has gone off in that direction.)

166 The Guaika /Waica/ travel frequently, but generally not
628 very far. The nearest settlement -- perhaps a day away -- is usually as far as they go. The settlement beyond this might be an enemy settlement, or at least not very friendly. Even neighboring settlements have such bad relations with one another that
628 they rarely visit among themselves. But the settlements which
574 are on friendly terms visit each other very frequently, and, when both live in the areas of the conucos, visitors come and go between them every few days.

574 The reasons for visiting are principally to see friends or to stay until their own "conuco" (which might be in a period of little production) begins to produce again.

Standards of Living

● 513
[342] The Guaika /Waica/ consider it essential to sleep every night under a roof. Thus, they always build some sort of shelter.

A fire is also essential. A Guaika will not sleep without
[354] a fire at night. He needs it to obtain heat and to protect himself from animals, and with the fire he feels safer from evil spirits.

/469 cont./

513 352 The third essential thing is the hammock. The Guaika must have a hammock in order to sleep at night. In his dwelling he has a cotton hammock or a hammock made of vines split longitudinally. On a hunting trip he may travel with his hammock made out of cords of vine or without carrying any. In this latter case, each night he will make a temporary hammock /470/ out of cords of bark, and, in case he stays in the same general area, he will use it for several nights. Then, in order to travel light, he will abandon this hammock of cords of bark and will go to his home, where his good hammock awaits him.

262 594 [251] The supply of food which the Guaika have is generally good and apparently quite nutritious. From time to time there is a shortage, and they do not accumulate reserves. Shortages are generally not too serious, for which reason they can usually bear the period of privation, subsisting from a neighboring settlement, which will be paid back for the visit when in its turn bad times come to it.

261 726 The complete loss of a "conuco" as a result of being constantly driven out of the area by an enemy is a quite serious matter. We observed a settlement (that of Bichaasatedi) subsisting with great difficulty for a year until its new "conuco" began to produce, after having been driven out of their former area by a hostile group (the one from Liakoatedi).

352 The Guaika do not make seats, but they rarely sit on the ground if they can avoid it. Generally they sit in a hammock or on a piece of firewood.

512 On an ordinary day the Guaika awake with the dawn. The wife prepares the roasted platanos for the whole family. Around 7:30 or 8:00 the majority of the inhabitants of the settlement go to work in the "conuco." Those who remain in the settlement in general rest the entire morning. Some few women gather in a party and go out to make firewood out of a dead tree, recently fallen. Those who work in the conuco begin to come back at noon. On the way to the settlement they bathe in the stream. After a brief rest each person roasts a few platanos for his lunch. Then, around 2:00 in the afternoon, the [276] "yopo" is prepared, and it is blown up the noses of many of the

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Guahariho

middle of the camp, but they preferred to sleep under a simple palm roof resting on four poles which had been erected near the river as a temporary measure when the first advanced party arrived. There they hung their hammocks, made of the same pliable liana threads as their loin-cloths. Apart from their bows and arrows, these hammocks were the only possessions they brought with them. Thus they passed the night close to the river and their boat. They lighted fires and kept them burning all night. Not all of them slept in hammocks. Some squatted on the bare ground close to the fires, but those who used hammocks slung them low to get the maximum benefit of the fire's heat, for all slept naked.

The next morning they came over to the empty *rancho* where we gave them *manioc*, which they knew and appreciated as a special treat. But they refused the cooked food we offered them. One or two of them tasted it, but quickly spat it out. We offered them meat and learned that they cook their game without first skinning it. We gave them salt, which was new to them and which they spat out with dreadful grimaces. It was probably the salt that made them refuse our cooked food. They never tired of *manioc*, and we discovered that *manioc* and *machete* were the only two Spanish words they knew.

The Guahariboes have a curious and revolting habit of secreting in their mouths between the lower gums and the lip a roll of green tobacco as big as the stump of a fat cigar. They do not chew it; it remains there unbroken all day while two streams of greenish juice continuously trickle from the corners of their mouths. Even the children and sometimes the women indulge. The lump, which horribly deforms the lower part of the face, making it look hideous, may have contributed to their reputation for ferocity and savagery. The preparation of the tobacco quids is the duty of the women. The fresh tobacco leaf is rolled with wood-ash, and then the women chew and soak it in spittle until it reaches the right proportions and consistency before passing it on to their mates. Cardona told us this was the universal practice.

The Indians' fear and suspicion of us quickly dispersed.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Sharaiwã, Kaobawã's youngest brother, helped build Kaobawã's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kaobawã's younger wife. Kaobawã's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kaobawã's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yanomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *hushimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kaobawã's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

If the evening meal be refused to
[512] take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he
[124] appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He
[554] preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship
[264] or stinginess.
[023]

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share
[462] of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or para-
[252] phernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree
[263] are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

[264] Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around
[252] the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them
[264] in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

[252] Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head,
[262] particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

[354] By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two
[447] glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an
[515] alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe
[513] the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

[155] Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman
[165] will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others
[593] have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and
[578] soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long,
[597] loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

[512] [221] [561] [562] Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.